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THE *SIR THOMAS MOORE* PROBLEM RECONSIDERED

(*Continuation*)*

By PAUL DEUTSCHBERGER

The fourth line of argument follows the third rather closely:

> Certain ideas were linked in Shakespeare's mind, and this coupling recurs with curious similarity, in spite of differing circumstances: at one time, it may be in an elaborate simile, at another in a single line or word . . . Therefore, if the speech of Sir Thomas More be Shakespeare's, we may reasonably expect More's figures regarding government to reappear . . . in those passages in Shakespeare's undoubted works where this question of authority and mob-law is discussed.[48]

This line of argument was subsequently developed by Miss Spurgeon.[49]

Without entering into a discussion of the validity or invalidity of the method in general, we may dismiss seven of Spurgeon's twelve examples of repetition as of no value, inasmuch as the parallel consists only in the occurrence of single words in the compared passages. The relationship, for instance, between Williamson's "Nay yt has infected yt with the palsy . . ."and Lord Say's "The palsy, and not fear provokes me!"[50] appears only in the repetition of the word "palsy." This is also true of Miss Spurgeon's comparison of "Trash, trash; they breed sore eyes," with Anne's "Out of my sight! Thou dost infect my eyes."[51] But, Miss Spurgeon makes her whole case absurd when she compares "spurne you lyke doggs," with Helena's "Spurn me, strike me,"[52] Miss Spurgeon's reasoning is, indeed, worthy of Fluellen:

> There is a river in Macedon; and there is also moreover a river at Monmouth: it is called Wye at Monmouth; but it is out of my prains what is the name of the other river; but 'tis all one, 'tis alike as my fingers is to my fingers, and there is salmons in both.[53]

The logical fallacies involved in Miss Spurgeon's method in general have been brilliantly exposed by Miss Lillian Hornstein,[54] and we need not discuss them here.

However, of more importance in the *Moore* case, are the following images: (1) "While they ar ore the banck of their

*The footnotes for this section will be found in the April issue of the BULLETIN.

obedience/ thus will they bere downe all things" (line 50); (2) "and you in ruff of your opinions clothd" (line 94); (3) "other ruffians . . . woold shark on you and men lyke ravenous fishes/ woold feed on on another" (line 99); (4) "to the king god hath his offyc lent, *etc.,*" (lines 116ff); (5) "and leade the maiestie of law in liom/to slipp him lyke a hound" (lines 143-144).

But it is not enough to point out that somewhat similar figures appear in Shakspere's acknowledged works. Miss Spurgeon must demonstrate that their appearance in *Moore* and in Shakspere has some significance. That the significance of these so-called repetitions has not been shown follows from the following considerations: a) some of these, *e.g.,* "spurne you lyke doggs," are mere clichés of Elizabethan literary usage; b) the others rest on mistaken interpretations of the words used by Shakspere and by D.

Consider, for instance, figure (4). Moore says,

> for to the king god hath his offyc lent
> of dread of iustyce, power and commaund
> hath bid him rule, and willd you to obay
> and to add ampler maiestie to this
> he hath not only lent the king his figure
> his throne and sword, but gyven him his owne name
> calls him a god on earth . . .

Miss Spurgeon is not, we hope, serious when she brings in Hamlet's "In the same figure, like the king that's dead,"[55] and "Poor key-cold figure of a holy king!"[56]

But, on the other hand, the Bishop of Carlisle approaches Moore's thought:

> The figure of God's majesty,
> His Captain, Steward, Deputy elect[57];

but the Bishop, here as elsewhere, has resorted to a political platitude. Calvin's *Institutio* endlessly repeats the idea that *"on ne peut pas résister aux magistratz sans résister á Dieu."*[58] It was Calvin, too, who remarshalled the scriptural admonitions against opposing the king[59]; Moore's

> first tis a sinn
> which oft thappostle did forwarne vs of
> vrging obedience to aucthoryty.

*The footnotes for this section will be found in the April issue of the BULLETIN.

Cheke, as we have seen, uses Moore's argument in the same way. Hooper declared that the "office of a magistrate is the ordinance of God,"[60] and Gardiner emphasized that "The King, yea, though he be an infidel, represententh the image of God on earth."[61] The 1550 edition of Gregory Nazianzen's *Oratio* carried the following admonition:

> Presume not ye that are sheep to make yourselves guides of them that guide you . . . It suffices for your part . . . to be ordered. Take it not upon yourselves to judge the judges . . .

Robert Crowley versified the idea as follows:

> But if thou do lyfte up thy sword
> Agaynst thy kynge and soueraine,
> Then art thou iuged by Gods word
> As worthi therwith to be slayne . . .
> For it is God that appointeth
> Kinges and rulers ouer the route:
> And with his power he anointeth
> Them for to be obeyede, no doubte.
> . . . God hym selfe doth princis call
> Hys christes and hys annoynted.
> Whoso therefore doth them resiste,
> The same resisteth God certayne.[62]

There is no difficulty in showing how conventional every image in this portion of Moore's speech really is; that is, all but two. D seems to have garbled the idea a bit in "offyc of dread of iustyce." The second "of" seemingly having been thrown in to make the line conform to metre. The other, the one which gives Miss Spurgeon so much trouble, is "lent his figure." This is rather meaningless, if not absurd, unless D is merely restating the formula *"princeps est animata lex,"* used by Aegidus Romanus at the end of the thirteenth century.[63]

Moore's "and that you sitt as kings in your desyres" repeats Cheke's "Be yee Kings?[64]" and reflects Crowley's

> He would have told the that to reuenge wronges is, in a subject, to take and vsurp the office of a kinge, and, consequently, the office of God. For the king is Goddes minister to reuenge the wronges done vnto the innocent.[67]

Or consider the figure, "and you in the ruff of your opynyons clothd," which Spurgeon compares to Gratiano's

> dress'd in an opinion
> Of wisdom, gravity, profound conceit.[66]

It is true that these two images are similar—but that, in itself, is no proof of identity of authorship. The same idea is repeated in Hugh Latimer:

> Where is all thy pompe? Wher is all
> the ruffe of thy gloriousnes become?[67]

Both Chambers and Spurgeon compare Moore's

> and leade the maiestie of law in liom
> to slipp him lyke a hound,

to Martius'

> Holding Corioli in the name of Rome
> Even like a fawning greyhound in the leash
> To let him slip at will.[68]

The word "slip" is common to both. But this is one of the commonest idioms of Elizabethan venery. It is difficult to apply the meaning of the *Coriolanus* quotation (either to loose the greyhound at a particular object, or to let the dog go off as he pleases—depending upon how "at will" is interpreted) to the *Moore* image. Chambers apparently realized this, for he appended the qualifying statement,

> Now, as has been pointed out above, the rebels in *Sir Thomas More* are not disloyal to the king.

But this is in flat contradiction to the text. One of Moore's strongest arguments is that the rebels *are* disloyal to the king, and, consequently to God.

The obvious explanation is that "to slip" and "to let slip" are different verbs. The *N.E.D.* tells us that "a slip" is a synonym for "leash." To "slip" the law is, as Moore says, to "lead it in liom."

Chambers and Spurgeon make much of Moore's observation,

> whiles they ar ore the banck of their obedienc
> thus will they bere down all things.

They find many parallels to this in the acknowledged works of Shakspere. But, on folio 5a (in the hand of Mundy), Surrey uses the same figure:

> this tyde of rage, that with the Eddie striues:
> I feare me much, will drowne too manie liues. (lines 62-63)

On the same page, he calls the importunings of the aliens, "high-crested insolence" (line 12).

The figure was common enough during the sixteenth century. It may be found in Ascham:

> disobedience doth overflow the banks of good order almost in every place, almost in every degree of man.[69]

The last image we must consider is the one given most prominence by Chambers—"the cannibal monsters." Moore says

> other ruffians . . .
> woold shark on you, and men lyke ravenous fishes
> woold feed on on other.

Ulysses, in *Troilus and Cressida,* declares,

> And appetite, an universal wolf, . . .
> Must make perforce an universal prey,
> And last eat up himself.

Coriolanus makes use of the same half line,

> You cry against the noble senate, who
> Under the gods, keep you in awe, which else
> Would feed on one another.[70]

But this is not so conclusive as one might be led to believe. The idea is an old and popular one. Take, for instance, the rather strong word, "ravenous." Hall's *Chronicle,* in treating the Ill May-Day, calls the aliens "raveners."[71] Since this *Chronicle* was the source for the early scenes of the play, it may be assumed that the very word suggested the image to D; which image was not peculiar to Shakspere. It was a sixteenth century commonplace to compare the greedy clergy to wolves consuming God's flock. So Latimer puts it in a rather scrambled figure:

> Beware of false Prophetes, which come vnto you in shepes clothing, but inwardly they are rauening woulffes, yee shall know them by their frutes.[72]

Simon Fish speaks, indeed, with that intensity that Chambers could find only in Shakspere:

> Ye(a) who is abill to nombre the greate and brode botomles occean see full of euilles that this mischeuous and sinful generacion may laufully bring vppon vs vnponnisshed. Where is youre swerde, power, crowne, and dignitie, become that shulde punisshe . . . the felonies, rapes, murdres, and treasons committed by this sinful generacion? . . . Oh the greuous shipwrak of the comon welth, which yn auncient time bifore the coming yn of these rauinous wolues was so prosperous.[73]

The image itself became secularized, the term "wolf" being applied rather broadly, while the idea of "cannibal monsters" became somewhat of a cliché. *The Supplication of the Poore Commons,* 1546, admonishes King Henry:

> Remember that you shal not leaue this kyngedome to a straunger, but to that child of great towardnes our most natural Prince Edward; employ your study to leaue hym a Commune Weale to gouerne, and not an iland of brute beastes, amongste whom the strongest deuour the weaker.[74]

Of interest, too, is Grimald's poem on "Lawes." The whole sounds like an epitome of Moore's speech. Notice the comparison of the mob to a wild beast (in this case, the tiger); the use of a variation of the "law in liom" image; and a half-developed reference to the unruly waters figure.

> When princes lawes, with reverend right do keep ye commons under
> As meek as babes, thei do their charge, and scatter not asunder.
> But if they raise their heads aloft, and lawe her brydle slake:
> Then, lyke a tyger fell they fare, and lust for law they take.
> Where water doth prevail, and fire, no mercy they expresse:
> But yet the rage of that rude rout is much more mercilesse.[75]

Crowley, too, sees "cannibal monsters" in civil disorder:

> Cormerauntes, gredye gulles; yea men that would eat up menne, women, & chyldren, are the causes of sedition.[76]

Certainly, a reference to "cannibal monsters" in Elizabethan literature is no proof of Shakspere's hand. It is interesting to conjecture, in fact, that in *Troilus and Cressida* Shakspere may have borrowed the image from Montaigne's *Essays*:

> Every one must not have the knowledge of his dutie referred to his owne judgment . . . induce us (as Epicurus saith) to endeivor to destroy and devour one another. The first law that ever God gave unto man, was a law of pure obedience.[77] Epicurus said of the lawes, that the worst were so necessary unto us, that without them men would enter devoure one another. And Plato verifieth that without lawes we should be like beastes.[78]

But Montaigne's *Essays* seems to have played a large part in Shakspere's thought only after Florio's translation in 1603; the date of *Troilus and Cressida* is *but a decade after 'Sir Thomas Moore.'*

The idea was common enough during the Renaissance,

however. But there seems to be a difference between Moore's use of the image and Ulysses'. Moore's "ravenous fishes" refer, like Cheke's "frantick beasts," to men who have fallen to savagery. Ulysses' "universal wolf" is obviously a repetition of the general medieval symbol for the sins of the flesh, *i.e.,* self-love and avarice. Compare Dante's *"maledetto lupo, consuma dentro te con la tua rabbia*[79] *. . . Maledetta sii tu, antica lupa che più che tutte l'altre bestie hai preda, per la tua fame senza fine cupa!"*[80]

This wolf-symbol can be traced to two popular sources of the Renaissance. In Plautus we find it expressed succinctly enough,

> *lupus est homo homini.*[81]

This symbol seems to have been given its allegorical meaning by the bestiaries. The *Manuelis Philae* gives the following:

> *non lupus sed agnus* esse *videatur in mediis gregibus.*
> *. . . Quum autem breve collum extremo dorso gerat,*
> *inflectit corpus ipsum.*[82]

It is obvious how ferocious the middle ages took the wolf to be, believing that Providence gave the wolf its short neck so that it might not bite itself!

Höhna[83] is only one of the many scholars who have pointed out how much the bestiaries influenced Elizabethan literature, especially Euphuism. So Lyly presents the concept in a little saw:

> For true it is, . . . that it must be a hard winter when one wolf eateth another.[84]

As to the verb, "to shark," which according to the *N.E.D.* occurs for the first two times in *Moore* and in *Hamlet,* and which, consequently, Chambers quotes to sustain the theory of Shakspere's identity with D; as Schücking has already shown,[85] "to shark" in *Hamlet* means "to gather"; in *Moore,* something like "to feed upon."

But the *N.E.D.* is not complete nor wholly dependable in such questions.[86] Charles E. Palmer, *quondam* editor on the staff of the *Early Modern English Dictionary,* has turned up many examples of "to shark" and its derivatives, used in D's sense, before 1615, which are not included in the *N.E.D.* The

most interesting example he gives is a phrase from Ben Jonson that antedates the *Hamlet* quotation:

> What? will I turne sharke, upon my friends?[87]

Professor Palmer notes that "a comma before rather than after 'shark' in this passage would make it a verb."[88] Even without transposing the comma, the meaning of the sentence is clear. This quotation alone makes it apparent that "to shark" was not the coinage and the monopoly of Shakspere. By 1604, the year in which *The Dutch Courtesan* was produced, "to shark" had become part of slang usage:

> *Freevill:* Nay, comfort, my good host Shark, my good Mulligrub.[89]
> *Malheureux:* Nay, be not jaw-fall'n, my most sharking Mulligrub.[90]

Another instance will suffice to show how foolish Chambers's argument sometimes becomes. He compares Moore's "give your selfe vp to forme" with Menenius' "where he shall answer by a lawful form." The hit or miss comparison of the same word used in different ways is characteristic of this whole phase of the *Moore* argument. "Form" (*i.e.* order) and "lawful form" (prescribed documents and proceedures) are obviously two different things.

Chambers's and Spurgeon's arguments may therefor be dismissed from further serious consideration.

VII

The last point to consider in the aesthetic argument is the alleged similarity of the treatment of the common people in *Sir Thomas Moore* and in Shakspere. Chambers tells us that "even in his ridicule of humble folk, Shakspere generally shows a loving touch."[91] But Dekker, Heywood, and Haughton exhibit this same attitude. Grimald, much earlier than these, treats the masses with a broad good humor derived from the tradition of Plautus. Notice, for instance, his presentation of Dromo, Dorus, Sangax, and Brumax, in *Christus Redivivus*. Heywood, as Schücking pointed out, repeats the two remarks of Doll Williamson which Chambers finds so Shaksperian.[92] If we are to use this criterion, we shall have to assume, too, that Frisco, in Haughton's *Englishmen For My Money* (*c.* 1598), was a creation of Shakspere.

But, is there anything in the treatment of the common people in the Addition, that is unShaksperian? For his presentation of the lower middle-class Shakspere follows the same tradition as did Grimald. Shakspere's crowds, seemingly, are always conscious of their own good humor. Not only do they make extended use of puns, as in *Julius Caesar,* I, i; but as in the Jack Cade scenes of *Henry VI,* they make their fellows ridiculous by making side-remarks about one another:

> *Cade:* We John Cade, so termed of our supposed father,—
> *Dick:* (*aside*) Or rather, of stealing a cade of herrings. . . .
> *Cade:* My wife descended of the Lacies,—
> *Dick:* (*aside*) She was, indeed, a pedlar's daughter and sold many laces.[98]

For one thing, there is a complete absence of such humor in D's scene. The pun and the *double-entendre,* the hall-marks of Shakspere's hand, are missing, as well as the sarcastic and revelatory asides.

Secondly, Shakspere's mobs are never irrelevant. The crowd may be whimsical, but not in the sense that Doll is. Shakspere's mobs are not composed of fools and are not easily hoodwinked. The citizens in *Coriolanus,* no matter how they say it, insist upon their grievances; the aristocracy has been withholding food and has been robbing them usuriously. But in D's scene the crowd forgets its grievances. The appalling injustices of the aliens, the corruption of the English officials, are passed over in favor of the complaint about "straing rootes." The rioters are, as Chambers says, "absurd and illogical," but not more so than Moore himself. Moore's Golden Rule homily is entirely uncalled for. Fraunces de Barde has assaulted Doll; he has captured "the goldsmithes wife . . . (and) madste him (like an asse) pay for his wifes boorde."[94] The Lord Mayor has sent Williamson to jail on complaint of the French Ambassador.[95] Moore ignores all this. He asks the rioters to place themselves in the position of the "wretched straingers." Incredible as it may seem, the crowd is convinced:

> *All:* Fayth a saies trewe letts do as we may be doon by.

In *Julius Caesar* both Brutus and Anthony stick to the sub-

ject in addressing the mob. Menenius, in *Coriolanus,* does so. Chambers tells us that in Moore's speech the "obvious thing to have dwelt upon would have been the fear of punishment and the hope of pardon." The obvious thing for Moore to have said, of course, was that the king would right the people's wrongs.

We must, therefore, reject *in toto* the arguments of Chambers, Spurgeon, and the others. The aesthetic case cannot be taken seriously; it carries no more conviction in its most highly articulate form than the original naive statements of Simpson and Spedding. By their methods as good a case could be made out for Marlowe,[96] Drayton,[97] Heywood, Haughton,[98] and others of Shakspere's contemporaries.

[*To be concluded*]

GEORGE BANCROFT'S VIEW OF SHAKSPERE

By Russel B. Nye

GEORGE BANCROFT was known to his time and is remembered by ours chiefly as the most renowned of the nineteenth century historians of the United States. A man of a wide range of interests, he successfully combined a career as politician and diplomat with that of a man of letters, and at one time, before the plan for his monumental *History* had crystallized in his mind, he contemplated a career as a literary critic. Accounted one of Harvard's most promising undergraduates, he was sent abroad by the college after his graduation in 1817 to pursue theological studies at Göttingen and other German universities. After his return in 1822, he spent some months as a tutor of Greek at Harvard, relinquishing his position to join Joseph Cogswell in founding the experimental secondary school near Northampton, Massachusetts, called Round Hill. During the early years of the decade he spent at Round Hill he established a fortunate connection with the *North American Review*, then edited by Jared Sparks, and met with such success as a reviewer that he considered abandoning schoolteaching for the life of a professional critic.

Most of Bancroft's early critical work was done in the field of German literature, since he had read widely during his Göttingen years and was therefore one of the best informed Americans in German letters. He had, however, a broad foundation in the English classics, and, as could be expected, constantly drew upon his knowledge of the English literary tradition for illustration and comparison. In the first volume of his *History*, published in 1834, he gave several pages to a brief account of Elizabethan letters in sketching the early background of colonial America, mentioning more than twenty Elizabethan writers and in general displaying a competent acquaintance with Elizabethan literature. Shakspere, in particular, fascinated him, and in the essays and reviews he published in the journals between 1824 and 1835, he frequently commented on Shakspere's genius and held his art as the standard of excellence.

Bancroft's comments on Shakspere reflected the bias of

his own mind during his formative years. It is not to be forgotten that he had originally prepared himself for the ministry, and his judgments of Shakspere were at first concerned almost solely with the "moral effect and moral justice" of his plays. In a series of three articles written for the *American Quarterly Review* in 1827 and 1828, he pointed out that in German literature, and in Goethe in particular, vice and immorality were often presented without compensatory punishment; this was never the case, he affirmed, in Shakspere, who never presented vice "clothed with beauty." "Vice has no beauty," he wrote in a review of Mrs. Hemans' poetry in 1827, "and for the poet to invest it with such is a violation of his trust." Shakspere was always moral, he concluded; *Macbeth* and *Richard III* exhibited true moral justice, that is, "the power of vice to degrade." Shakspere, though he was "the most powerful of all poets in delineating the passions," yet gave in his plays the great example of "the wedding of beauty and moral justice in art."

But as Bancroft's interests turned from theology and ethics toward history and politics, his concept of Shakspere changed accordingly. In 1834 the first volume of his *History,* a highly democratic work, appeared, "voting for Jackson," one critic said. Shakspere now became not the great ethical teacher, but the great democrat, the artist of the common man. The common people were the highest earthly tribunal in matters of art, he told the students of Williams College in 1835; literature became great only when it drew inspiration and sustenance from the masses. Dante, Homer, Chaucer, and others were great because their art was rooted in the common people, but the greatest artist of all, "poet of mankind," was Shakspere, whose genius was purely democratic, whose art drew from the common people and was inspired by them.

The success of his historical volumes led Bancroft to forsake literary criticism for a career as a historian. Half a century later, however, his *History* nearly completed, he returned to Shakspere. In 1883, when Bancroft was eight-three, he confined to Edward Everett Hale that he planned

to write a critical biography of Shakspere. He intended, he said, to dwell on three major points: that Shakspere knew he was a natural genius and that he determined early in life to become a great poet; that he set about industriously preparing himself to that end, learning his craft; and that by hard work and preparation he attained his goal with *Macbeth, Hamlet,* and *Lear.* He was, therefore in Bancroft's estimation, a *natural* genius who fulfilled the promise of his great gifts by learning and labor—an interesting blend of the romantic and neoclassic views common to the nineteenth century conception of Shakspere's development.

The projected book was never written, for when the last edition of the *History* appeared Bancroft was nearing ninety and was no longer capable of the necessary sustained intellectual effort. He began, however, making scattered notes for the volume, notes now preserved in the New York Public Library collection of Bancroft papers. One page of his notebook, for example, shows the following:

> "Shakespeare came out of Stratford independent in thought, not a skeptic but a bold inquirer after truth. He went to London with character formed, an orderly, regular man.
>
> His philosophy was wherever it touched religion in him—reason won the victory over superstitution. His mind tranquil—he never wrestled with doubt.
>
> Shakespeare, like Plato and Vergil, was the representative of order and authority.
>
> Not skeptical though he read Montaigne.
>
> Never seems to be straining or making effort. He improves not by consulting faults but by obtaining a more complete mastery and use and skill in the employment of his powers. *Twelfth Night,* Maria's speech, Act III, Sc. II, 64-65, is expression of the Calvinistic doctrine of Salvation by Faith, and Sir Andrew's contemptous reference to the Brownists in same act and scene."

Most illuminating, however, of the items in Bancroft's papers, is an unfinished three-page essay, evidently a summary or prospectus of his proposed biography, which combined both the moral and the political strains of his early view of Shakspere.

> "Shakespeare represented all classes of English society, and although he might raise a smile with regard to some no party which had dignity and character failed to obtain his respect and recognition.

He was versed in the theology of the Calvinists, but when he brought the Calvinists on the stage he chose for the representative a man of perfect courage and spotless morality and purity of life, namely, Cassius [!]. Cassius, when by the treason of his enemy, had been betrayed into a momentary disposition to error, showed that he himself with his great severity of morals and spotless character, was a Calvinist, and the great author introduces him when half drunk and tottering, meditating on the fine points of Calvinism, especially on predestination.

The pious young person in one of the comedies, who is brought in with no other view than that he was too much given to prayer, is a representative not of the Calvinists, but of another class; it may be a sectarianist, but more probably of persons who were attached to the Church of England who had some peculiar tendencies to religion.

With regard to Shakespeare, it has been the fashion, when some play of his of a later date appeared with enlargements or emendations, to go to work to question as to who it could possibly be that made the change; but Shakespeare always had an eye to making editions himself of his own works and nobody but himself would venture to change them. Undoubtedly the allusion to America in the tribute to King James was written by Shakespeare's own hand and from his own knowledge too about Virginia, and as regards the shipwreck of the leader of the colonial expedition, it taught Shakespeare to write *The Tempest,* so that America has a double connection with him; first by his prediction that the English in North America would make a new nation, and next by his play of *The Tempest.*

Shakespeare's connection with the woman he was to marry, or whom in consequence of that connection he did marry, was, when made, complete and lasting, and from that day there is never a word said of his wandering from his wife. There is in all that has been said about Shakespeare not one single word that goes to charge him with any love adventure with any woman whatsoever. That they lived together is proved by the birth of children to them. When it came to the end of his life, who were there to comfort Shakespeare? The wife of his youth and his daughter, the child of his premature love, who turned out to have one of the best minds of any woman in England of her time; to have been the most devoted daughter to the mother and without a doubt to Shakespeare himself. . . . This daughter left to posterity a name for filial piety. So this first, earliest, and only love of Shakspeare brought to him offspring that comforted him during his life and soothed him when dying, and took care of the wife after his death. There could be no instance of a more united family. There is not a scrap of even morose speech that casts a shade on Shakespeare as a husband and father. Of the tales that have been gotten up about Shakespeare's immorality after his marriage, all are modern concoctions. Hallam is the most considerable person in literature who lent his name to these slanders on Shakespeare.

The view of Shakspere that Bancroft meant to adopt, had he continued and completed his critical biography, is clearly implied in this summary and in his remarks to Hale. The picture of the dramatist he would have drawn would have been that of a sober, orderly, conservative artist, gifted by nature with great powers which he developed and matured through practice and study. It would have been, no doubt, a romantic and somewhat moralistic survey of Shakspere's life and works, with a prevailingly ethical and theological emphasis. Had he begun his task fifty years before, Bancroft's volume would have been in harmony with the contemporary interest in morality in art, and it would have been, no doubt, an interesting and significant contribution to early nineteenth-century Shaksperian criticism. When he ultimately turned to the field of literary criticism, however, the trend of opinion regarding Shakspere had shifted, and the fund of authentic information concerning the poet had increased far beyond Bancroft's knowledge and capacity. The surviving fragment, however uncertain its scholarship and didactic its approach, yet retains a certain antiquarian interest by reason of its distinguished authorship.

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'NATURE AND ART' IN *WINTER'S TALE* IV, iv, 86 ff.

By Harold S. Wilson

THE passage in *The Winter's Tale* (IV, iv, 79 ff.) where Polixenes and Perdita discuss the merits of such 'artificial' flowers as carnations and gillyvors[1] has been widely and justly admired. It is one of the most graceful and poetic passages in Shakspere and contains one of his keenest intellectual *aperçus*. Over and above the pastoral charm of the setting, Perdita herself, and the fragrant talk of country flowers, there is a pretty ambiguity in the action. As Furness has noted[2], Polixenes in defending the art of grafting has unknowingly stated the relation between his royal son and the shepherd maid with his metaphor of marrying a gentler scion to the wildest stock, and Perdita cheerfully assents to the figure, if not to the application Polixenes intends; while the audience, familiar with the play and secure in the knowledge that Perdita is a true princess, after all, enjoys the further irony of the maid's accepting the partly false analogy to justify her marriage with Florizel, urged by the man who mistakenly thinks he has most interest in opposing the match.

Polixenes' defence of the carnations and gillyvors which Perdita disdains:

Perdita: For I have heard it said
There is an art which in their piedness shares
With great creating Nature.
Polixenes: Say there be;
Yet Nature is made better by no mean
But Nature makes that mean; so, over that art,
Which you say adds to Nature, is an art
That Nature makes. You see, sweet maid, we marry
A gentler scion to the wildest stock,
And make conceive a bark of baser kind
By bud of nobler race: this is an art
Which does mend Nature, change it rather, but
The art itself is Nature

is couched in terms of one of the many 'nature and art' relationships familiar in ancient and Renaissance literature. No

commentator could hope to canvass the background of Shakspere's idea completely. To exhaust even a fraction of the relevant parallels in the literature preceding Shakspere would require volumes, as everyone knows. Nevertheless, surprisingly few parallels for the passage as a whole have been noted by the commentators, so far at least as I have observed[3]; and it may be worthwhile to indicate something of their antiquity and extent.

The earlier history of the conception of 'nature' as subsuming the arts of man has been traced by A. O. Lovejoy and George Boas in their indispensable study, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity*. As they have remarked, Shakspere's thought is adumbrated though not unequivocally anticipated in a saying attributed to Democritus: "Nature and culture are much alike; for culture changes a man, but through this change makes nature."[4] A clearer parallel for Shakspere's conception occurs in one of the answers Plato supplies to the sophistic antithesis of 'nature' and 'art'; "Law itself . . . and art . . . exist by nature or by a cause not inferior to nature, since, according to right reason, they are the offspring of mind."[5] Lovejoy and Boas have likewise noted at length the occurrence of the conception that 'nature' comprehends 'art' in Aristotle[6] and Cicero.[7] Other such classical antecedents of Polixenes' thought could be supplied, but probably enough have been indicated to show that the idea of 'art' as a part of cosmic nature or as made by nature was commonplace in antiquity. It would be likewise possible to cite a multitude of pre-Shaksperian parallels for this commonplace from many fields of Renaissance thought. I shall confine my citations to the field of literary theory, with which I am most familiar, and conclude with one which Shakspere may have had in mind when he formulated the speech of Polixenes.

The idea of cosmic nature as guiding and controlling the development of poetic art occurs in Petrarch: "Nihil nisi naturae consentaneum lex poetica fingi sivit"[8]; and this normative conception of 'nature' is further applied to all literary art and to human arts in general by a succession of Renaissance writers in Italy, France, and England.[9] Some discussion of the relations between 'art' and 'nature'—usually

designed to justify the conceptions of the 'arts' of rhetoric or poetry and to define their limits—became a conventional part of most Renaissance treatises on literary theory. Thus Bernardino Daniello opens his *Poetica* (1536) with a discourse on this matter in which, after granting that "every art and science has its beginnings from nature" (p. 4), he argues that the writer's 'natural' gifts should be supplemented, disciplined, and perfected by the literary 'art' with which his little book is mainly concerned. In support, he introduces an agricultural illustration in something like Polixenes' vein, if not in application to his precise contention. Many things in nature, says Daniello, are improved by human art, and not least the useful products of the soil:

> "For nature produces what is useful to human life mixed indiscriminately with thorns and brambles. Wherefore, if the diligent cultivator does not root out the sterile offenders from the good and useful growths, he will reap many tares and but little corn or oats. But let us look a little higher, from the products of the soil to the trees. Do we not here find, very often, something comparable? Assuredly, since, for the most part, trees are apt to degenerate and bring forth sour or insipid fruit if left to their own development. But if these are diligently and artfully grafted with the proper scions of other fruit trees, the fruits become sweet and savory. . ."[10]

Daniello's talk on tree-grafting is not so specific and neatly turned as Polixenes'; but it shows how examples drawn from arboriculture, as from other fields, were associated with Renaissance discussions of 'art' and 'nature' well before Shakspere's time.

A French parallel for Shakspere's generalization concerning 'nature' and 'art' appears in the *Art Poëtique* (1555) of Jacques Peletier, the most judicious critic of the Pléiade group. Peletier displays an awareness, unusual for the time, of the ambiguities in the terms 'nature' and 'art' as commonly used by Renaissance theorists. He opens his discussion of these concepts with the following observation:

> "If one should take 'nature' in the amplest sense as that great working principle which acts universally upon everything in the world and upon all that falls within the cognizance of men, which comprehends even those things that we call "contrary to nature' or 'supernatural'; then there is only 'nature' . . . in the world . . ."[11]

In English literary treatises of the Renaissance the commonplaces of ancient and modern continental critics con-

cerning 'art' and 'nature' regularly recur. Among these, the idea that 'nature' generates and regulates 'art' is implied in Sidney's remark about the courtly amateur among poets who, ignorant of the prescriptions of the learned on poetics and merely "following that which by practise hee findeth fittest to nature, therein (though he know it not) doth according to Art though not by art."[12] The idea that "Nature . . . is above all Arte" Shakspere could have found in Samuel Daniel's *Defence of Ryme* (1603), had he needed to.[13] More interesting, however, is the conjecture that Shakspere's remarks about 'nature' and 'art' in *The Winter's Tale* may have had some relation to the elaborate discussion of these concepts in the *Arte of English Poesie* (1589). The author of this treatise, most probably identified by the latest editors as George Puttenham,[14] is distinguished among Renaissance critics for his semantic interests and his nice discriminations in the use of words. Throughout his treatise he delights in particularizing fine distinctions of critical terminology; and he reserves for his last chapter a discourse on current uses of the terms 'nature' and 'art' and the illustration of their exact employment in criticism.[15]

By way of showing "where arte ought to appeare, and where not, and when the naturall is more commendable than the artificiall in any humane action or workmanship," Puttenham distinguishes six different relations between 'nature' and 'art': (1) 'art' as "an aide and coadiutor to nature, and a furtherer of her actions to good effect, or peradventure a meane to supply her wants, by reenforcing the causes wherein shee is impotent and defective"; (2) 'art' as "not only an aide and coadiutor to nature in all her actions, but an alterer of them, and in some sort a surmounter of her skill, so as by meanes of it her owne effects shall appeare more beautiful or straunge and miraculous"; (3) 'art' as "onely a bare immitatour of natures works, following and counterfeyting her actions and effects"; (4) 'art' as "an encountrer and contrary to nature, producing effects neither like to hers, nor by participation with her operations, nor by imitation of her paternes, but makes things and produceth effects altogether strange and diverse, & of such forme & qualitie (nature alwaies supplying stuffe) as she never would

nor could have done of her selfe"; (5) those actions which are "so naturall & proper to man, as he may become excellent therein without any arte or imitation at all"; (6) those arts and methods "by which the naturall is in some sort relieved . . . in his imperfection, but not made more perfit then the naturall."[16]

Among the many illustrations of these distinctions Puttenham uses, several come from agriculture. One, in particular, illustrating 'art' as an alterer and surmounter of nature's skill, might have provided the very text of the debate between Perdita and Polixenes:

> "And the Gardiner by his arte will not onely make an herbe, or flowr. or fruite, come forth in his season without impediment, but also will embellish the same in vertue, shape, odour and taste, that nature of her selfe woulde never have done: as to make the single gillifloure, or marigold, or daisie, double: and the white rose, redde, yellow, or carnation; a bitter mellon sweete, a sweete apple, soure; a plumme or cherrie without a stone; a peare without core or kernell, a goord or coucumber like to a horne, or any other figure he will: any of which things nature could not doe without mans help and arte."

It is precisely such 'arte' against which Perdita objects and which Polixenes so neatly justifies by pointing out the master generalization that Puttenham's discussion had overlooked.

Puttenham's treatise enjoyed a high reputation, in fashionable literary circles especially, during Shakspere's later years, and beyond; and the solemn didacticism of its author's concluding chapter may have drawn Shakspere's amused attention. It would be in keeping with the quality of Shakspere's wit to play lightly upon Puttenham's theme and provide a summary comment upon it, delivered with the grave urbanity of a Polixenes, a comment which should supply its main deficiency in philosophical insight.[17]

Puttenham's principal aim in his discussion of 'nature' and 'art' was to distinguish the bases for a description of the poet's activity and art, to analyze rather than to generalize; and this aim he fullfilled very well. Nor would Shakspere's comment have seemed to any thoughtful and educated contemporary, including Puttenham himself, unfamiliar. But

it represents, perhaps, as well as any passage can, the supreme power of Shakspere to see the main issue and to comment upon it with unequalled felicity.

Whether or not the conjectured link with Puttenham's treatise be acceptable, we may conclude that Shakspere's thought was commonplace both in antiquity and in the Renaissance, and that even the horticultural illustrations Shakspere uses were familiar in Renaissance discussions of 'nature' and 'art' long before Shakspere's time. Shakspere's originality is not in his matter but in his art, which, as Dryden and Doctor Johnson long ago observed, is the 'art' of 'nature' itself.

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[1]On the propriety of this spelling, see *The Winter's Tale, A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare,* ed. H. H. Furness, Philadelphia, 1898, p. 189.

[2]*Ibid.,* p. 191.

[3]Sir Wm. T. Thiselton-Dyer in *Shakespeare's England* (i . 514) has cited a passage from Bacon's *Sylva Sylvarum* on the cultivation of gilly-flowers and contrasts the superior insight of Shakspere in anticipating the view of recent botanists "that nature contains the secret of its own evolution." See also the notes to the Cambridge *Shakespeare,* ed. Quiller-Couch and Wilson. H. N. Hudson (*The Complete Works of William Shakespeare,* with . . . notes by H. N. Hudson, I. Gollancz, C. H. Herford . . . N. Y., n.d.) has cited parallels in Bacon and Sir Thomas Browne for "art itself is nature." The philosopher S. Alexander (*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library,* July, 1927, pp. 256-72) has used WT, IV, iv, 79 ff. as the text for a discourse on the use of the concepts 'nature' and 'art' in aesthetics and the criticism of the fine arts, but he is not concerned to place the Shakspere passage in its historical setting. See also note 17, below

[4]Frag. 33 (Diels). See Lovejoy and Boas, *Prim.,* pp. 207-08. The authors suggest that the verb-form *phusiopoiei* in Democritus's saying "possibly comes close to: 'it carries on the creative work of nature'."

[5]*Laws,* 890 D; trans. R. G. Bury (London and N. Y., 1926). Cf. *Prim.,* p. 166. A different though related view is contained in Pindar's often-repeated assertion that all human excellences, including recognized arts like poetry, are, in the nature of things, innate and hereditary (*Ol.* II, 86-88; IX, 100-04; *Pyth.* VIII, 44-45; etc.). Here the purpose is to exalt the native excellence and prerogative of a hereditary aristocracy in contrast with the acquired and therefore allegedly inferior accomplishments of the *parvenus.* The notion that all human arts and excellences are simply or primarily a matter of 'nature' (i.e., native endowment or ability) remained current throughout antiquity—as it still is in some quarters, today—though so indiscriminate an accounting for excellent human achievements was more commonly rejected by thoughtful writers, e.g., Isocrates, *Antidosis,* 197 f.; Cicero, *De Or.,* I, 83, 90, etc.; Quintilian, *Inst. Or.,* II, xvii, 5 f.; *Per Hupsous,* II, i.

[6]*Prim.,* pp. 189-90. *Cf.* also "Appendix: Some Meanings of 'Nature'," p. 448 (senses 13, 14, 15).

[7]*Ibid.,* p. 247 f.

[8]*Fam.,* IX, 4. A familiar mediaeval view, as stated, e.g., in Dante,

natura lo suo corso prende
Dal divino intelletto e da sua arte (*Inf.,* xi, 99-100)

and often repeated through the Renaissance, is not, of course, meant to controvert the idea of cosmic nature as subsuming human arts but simply to align 'nature' in its most inclusive sense under the supreme sovereignty of God.

[9]For citations, see my study of the meanings of 'nature' in Renaissance literary theory, JHI, II (1941), 430 f., senses 9, 10, 11, 12.

[10]*Poetica* (1536), p. 5.

[11]*Art Poët.,* p. 73.

[12]G. G. Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays.* Oxford, 1904, I, 203.

[13]*Ibid.,* II, 359.

[14]*The Arte of English Poesie* by George Puttenham. Edited by Gladys Doidge Willcock and Alice Walker. Cambridge, 1936.

[15]Bk iii, ch. xxv.

[16]Pp. 303-06.

[17]Professor Lovejoy suggests that in *WT,* IV, iv, 89-90, Shakspere is making a "devastating comment upon the primitivism of Montaigne" (*Prim.,* p. 207). Whether this were Shakspere's design is as impossible to prove as the relation with Puttenham's remarks suggested above. Professor Lovejoy's conjecture is in keeping with Shakspere's jocose treatment of a theme from Montaigne's essay *Des Cannibales* (I, 31) in *Tempest,* II, i, 147 f. On the other hand, Shakspere would probably know Puttenham's treatise at least as well as Florio's Montaigne; and the tenor of Polixenes' remarks, with their horticultural application, is directly reminiscent of Puttenham. It is not impossible that Shakspere was recalling what he had read in both Puttenham and Montaigne.

SHAKSPERE'S HEROIC SHREW

By Raymond A. Houk

THIS study of *The Taming of the Shrew,* suggested by a recent physiological diagnosis of Katherine's shrewishness,[1] is largely a restatement of the traditional interpretation, supported by examples from contemporaneous literature.

It is almost axiomatic that improper diet disturbs bodily functions, and thus unfavorably affects a person's disposition, and that a person whose bodily functions are already deranged is more susceptible to harm from improper diet than is a normally healthy person. Such would seem to have been Isaac Reed's opinion when he quoted from *The Glass of Humours* the advice that "a cholerick man" should "abstain from all salt, scorched, dry meats, from mustard, and such like things as will aggravate his malignant humours."[2]

Reed and his followers, Charles and Mary Cowden Clarke[3] and W. J. Rolfe,[4] seem to have accepted as true Petruchio's assertion that the meat in *The Shrew* was burnt and that Katherine was choleric:

> I tell thee, Kate, 'twas burnt and dried away,
> And I expressly am forbid to touch it;
> For it engenders choler, planteth anger,
> And better 'twere that both of us did fast,
> Since, of ourselves, ourselves are choleric,
> Than feed it with such over-roasted flesh. (IV . i . 173-178)[5]

The notion, which would seem to derive from Galen,[6] that burnt meat engenders choler, is not here in controversy.

That the meat actually was burnt and that Katherine actually was choleric will, however, be challenged along with Mr. Draper's thesis that Katherine was the victim of choler and that Petruchio's method of taming her was in accord with the approved treatment for choleric persons.

Although the words 'choler' and 'choleric' seem to have been used both in a physical and a non-physical sense from the time of Aristotle down to the present,[7] they will be employed herein only in the physical sense in which they

were used in the sixteenth century in association with the doctrine of the four humors.

The word 'humor' obviously is used both in *The Shrew* (I . ii . 107; III . ii . 29; III . ii . 70; IV . i . 212) and in *The Taming of a Shrew* (I . i . 74; II . i . 129; III . i . 43)[8] only in a non-physical sense. The term 'choleric humor' does not occur either in *The Shrew* or in *A Shrew*.[9]

That Shakspere employs the doctrine of the four humors neither to account for Katherine's shrewish conduct nor to explain her taming, and that he makes no use of the idea of choler (and the idea of melancholy) other than as rhetoric wherewith to impose upon a helpless woman (and to delude a simple tinker), will become apparent during the following discussion.

I

There is no reason to believe that Shakspere in *The Shrew* thinks of Katherine's shrewishness either as choler or as resulting from a choleric humor, nor, in fact, as any kind of a physical or mental disorder; his conception is rather that of the traditional shrew of literature.

1. To take as literally true all of the several descriptions of Katherine, whether made in jest or earnest, in sorrow or in anger, would be to fail to understand both the genius of the English language and the character of Shakspere's heroine.

(1) The theory of a choleric humor in *The Shrew,* made familiar to six decades of Shakspere students by Rolfe's notes on IV i. 155, 156; IV . iii . 25,[10] is overthrown by a study of the wider sweep of the play.

Should, however, Rolfe's, or Reed's, literal interpretation be the true one, it would indicate no more than that, among Katherine's other frailties, a choleric disturbance is occasionally attributed to her. It would be no radical alteration of the traditional view to regard choler as a physical symptom contributing to Katherine's shrewish temper. This would, of course, be something else than equating her shrewishness with choler or regarding her shrewishness as the result of a choleric humor.

Rolfe and his authorities seem to have regarded

Petruchio's depriving Katherine of the allegedly burnt meat merely as a means to prevent an aggravation of her "malignant" humor,[11] and as "one of the best means of leading to its cure."[12] It seems to have been Mr. Draper's own idea to equate Katherine's alleged choler with her shrewishness, and the alleged cure for choler with the actual taming of the shrew.

In opposition to the literal interpretation recorded by Rolfe, and in refutation of Mr. Draper's extension of that interpretation, it is herein argued that Petruchio's brief disquisition on roast meat in *The Shrew,* IV . i . 161-179, is a device which he uses to show Katherine the folly of a habit of faultfinding (*cf.* lines 202-203), and also to gain time. Petruchio apparently wishes to bring her to the extremities of hunger (*cf.* line 193) without being involved in the meantime in an exchange of grievous words or in unprofitable debates. His stated policy is to pretend that he does all "in reverend care of her" (lines 206-207).

His depriving Katherine of meat in this scene is a continuation of his plan, begun earlier, to bring her to terms by means of hunger; but the present behavior of Katherine probably reinforces his determination to famish her. Before beginning to eat supper Petruchio asks her, "Will you give thanks, sweet Kate, or else shall I?" (line 162). Katherine does not seem to make any response to this request. Although later Petruchio explicitly makes the giving of thanks a condition which she must meet before she is to be allowed to eat (IV . iii . 41-44), he does not stop here to argue the point; he will wait until she has become more hungry, and more tractable.

Moreover, upon Katherine's silence after his request that she shall give thanks, Petruchio probably suspects that she is about to burst out in a typical storm of abuse (*cf.* I . i. 176-178; III . iii . 209-223; IV . iii . 73-80). Suggestive also of a coming storm are Petruchio's repeated injunctions: "Sit down, Kate, and welcome" (IV . i . 145), "Nay, good sweet Kate, be merry" (line 146), "Be merry, Kate" (line 152), "Come Kate, and wash, and welcome heartily" (line 157), "Come, Kate, sit down" (line 161), without accompanying indications of the manner or the extent of Katherine's com-

pliance. Anticipating a possible bursting of the floodgates, accordingly, he gives her an example of faultfinding which she will remember for days. He asks, "What's this? mutton?" (line 163); and promptly rejects it with the declaration, "'Tis burnt, and so is all the meat" (line 164).[13] He thus makes scapegoats of the servants; they "grumble" (line 170), as if to protest that the meat was not really burnt. Katherine declares, "The meat was well" (line 172). Petruchio, whose humor it is that his servants and his wife shall accept as true whatever absurdity he may utter, merely repeats his assertion: "I tell thee, Kate, 'twas burnt and dried away" (line 173). Katherine, who has not yet learned to agree with Petruchio against the evidence of her senses, probably retains her belief that the meat was not burnt. Later, after declaring that she is "starv'd for meat," she says to Grumio:

> And that which spites me more than all these wants—
> He does it under name of perfect love;
> As who should say, if I should sleep or eat,
> 'Twere deadly sickness or else present death. (IV . iii . 9, 11-14)

Katherine apparently thinks Petruchio's stated reasons for depriving her of food are mere pretense.

Petruchio admits as much—to the audience, though not to her:

> As with the meat, some undeservëd fault
> I'll find about the making of the bed; (IV . i . 202-203)

His earlier words, accordingly, are not to be so interpreted as to mean that the meat was actually burnt.

Petruchio may have been well pleased with himself for hitting upon the idea of choler and burnt meat as a pretext for ushering Katherine into the bridal chamber without any supper (IV . i . 180-181).[14] His pretense permitted him to maintain the rôle of one who is doing all under name of perfect love. On Thursday he assures her,[15]

> Here, love; thou seest how diligent I am,
> To dress thy meat myself and bring it thee.
> I am sure, sweet, Kate, this kindness merits thanks. (IV . iii . 39-41)

The choleric idea was a good one, as his servant Grumio seems also to have thought. In *The Shrew,* IV . iii . 1-35, although Katherine is like to die from hunger after what would seem to have been a four days' fast,[16] Grumio baits

her with the very name of meat and taunts her thrice with "I fear 'tis choleric" or "too hot a little."[17] In this latter scene it does not seem to be a question of meat burnt or dried away; Grumio merely declares that he fears lest the imaginary "neat's foot" and "fat tripe finely broil'd" are choleric. Whether or not such dishes were supposed in the sixteenth century to be conducive to choler,[18] there can be little question but that "the mustard without the beef" would have been "too hot a little" (line 25). Thus Shakspere seems to have reduced the whole question of choleric meat to an absurdity; he does not again refer either to it or to the idea that Katherine may have been choleric.

Shakspere's use of the idea of choler, accordingly, serves but a limited purpose in *The Shrew;* it in no way defines Katherine's shrewishness as a physical ailment.

The use of medical terms in the Induction of *The Shrew* would seem to reinforce this interpretation of Katherine's alleged choler as a mere pretext. After he wakes in strange surroundings and amid protestations of homage which he cannot accept as genuine, Christopher Sly is told that he has but lately recovered from a fifteen-year period of lunacy (Ind. ii. 14-34, 79-82),[19] and that he is now in the melancholy stage (lines 134-135).[28] Thus he is persuaded to believe that his actual memories are but the hallucinations of that alleged lunacy (Ind. i. 62-65); and, by the argument that he is melancholic and in danger of relapsing into lunacy, he is also persuaded to sit and hear a play (Ind. ii. 131-138), rather than to go to bed immediately with his pretended "wife" (lines 118-125).

That Sly has been lunatic, and is now actually melancholic, no critic of *The Shrew* could possible maintain. Likewise, in the play proper, when Katherine is told that she is choleric and, consequently, should not eat burnt meat, she may not actually be choleric; she may have been told so only in order the more easily to secure her compliance.

(2) Inasmuch as Mr. Draper imputes to Katherine a sexual incontinency which he uses to buttress his theory of a choleric humor, several other passages in *The Shrew* should be given some attention.

In the case of the first, IV . i . 185, it may not be possible to determine whether there is any sexual implication in Curtis' answer to Grumio that Petruchio is in Katherine's chamber, "making a sermon of continency to her," much, as Mr. Draper would have it, to her embarrassment or "insult."[21]

Curtis' words, in the scene of IV . i . 182-214 (which probably occurs on Monday morning,[22] after what would seem to have been a sleepless night for Katherine), need signify no more than a servant's joke about newly-weds; or, at the most, they may be a humorous interpretation of debates in the bridal chamber. When Petruchio presently enters he says not a word about sexual incontinency.

Petruchio's task in the taming of the shrew obviously was with Katherine's lack of self-restraint in general, not with warding off her nuptial caresses, which, on the contrary, because of spite, she may have refused to grant him. Moreover, the context in *The Shrew* provides, in Katherine's deprivation of all food, grounds for her to offer protests and reproaches, which may well have led Petruchio to hold forth on the theme of continency, whether in jest or in earnest. Not having eaten since Sunday morning (or Saturday evening),[23] she may have been clamorous for food by Monday. Instead of breakfast, Petruchio seems to have fed her with empty words. (*cf.* IV . iii . 10).

The word 'hot', used twice with reference to Katherine, does not necessarily have a choleric or a sexual significance; it is employed with other, and sometimes figurative, meanings in *The Shrew* (IV . i . 6, *cf.* IV . iii . 25).

Petruchio's statement in the betrothal scene, that Katherine "is not hot, temperate as the morn" (II . i . 296), which might doubtfully be paraphrased as "not intemperate, but temperate" or as "not hot, but lukewarm," hardly lends itself to the supposition that Katherine may have been suspected of having too much of Venus' quality or of being "overpassionate."[24]

Curtis' question before the home-coming of Katherine, "Is she so hot a shrew as she's reported?" (IV . i . 22), might well be paraphrased as, "Is she so wrathful a shrew."[25] Any

other interpretation would be more of a commentary on Curtis' habits of thought than on Katherine's character.

Petruchio's reference to Katherine as "a lusty wench" (II . i . 161) has no sexual implication;[26] he is thinking of her violence in word and deed at the lute lesson (*cf.* lines 143-163). Nor does her "envy" of Bianca (lines 1-36), often used to support the notion that she was longing for a husband, amount to more than a desire to be married and thus to end an intolerable situation in which she has appeared too much at a disadvantage.

Neither should Katherine's shrewishness, which had long antedated her marriage, be attributed to any sexual disappointment, such as Sir David Lyndsay gives as the cause of the shrewish outbursts of the wives of the "Taylour" and the "Sowtar" in *Ane Satyre of the Three Estaitis*.[27]

The following words of Hortensio may serve to prevent any interpretation of *The Shrew* which would becloud Katherine's reputation for sexual integrity:

> Her only fault (and that is faults enough)
> Is that she is intolerable curst,
> And shrowd and froward so beyond all measure. (I . ii . 88-90)

This account would seem to comprise "all her faults" (line 187).

There is, accordingly, no evidence in *The Shrew* to support a theory of sexual abnormality as a physical condition provocative of Katherine's shrewish outbursts.

(3) The diabolical references in *The Shrew* indicate neither a physical choler nor a demoniacal possession.

Nowhere in *The Shrew* does Katherine use her alleged choler as an excuse to explain or to defend her conduct; nor do others in the play apologize for her shrewishness as a physical defect; her father does not enjoin his new son-in-law to use Katherine tenderly because she has excessive bile, as, for instance, the mother in *The Wife Lapped in Morels Skin* advised the young man to be kind to her daughter, and as "Jone" herself requested,[28]

> But sometime ye must me a little forbeare,
> For I am hasty, but it is soone done:

> In my fume I doe nothing feare,
> Whatsoever thereof to me become.

Katherine makes no similar confession; she seems, however, to be aware that she has been called, with some justice, a devil.

The father in *The Wife Lapped in Morels Skin* declares that his daughter "is conditioned . . . like a Fiend," and refers to her as "a devillishe Fende of hell."[29] In even more embittered terms he declares of his wife, Jone's mother, "She will me charme: the Devill her kill."[30] Because the young wife has "played the devell" with them, the servants report to their master, "Our dame is the devell." Jone, however, tells her husband to "Ryde to the Devell, and to his dame."[31]

Hortensio and Gremio, accustomed to call Katherine "a devil" and "the devil's dam" (III . ii . 158), had precedent also in the Bible: "Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do" (John viii . 44), but apparently they did not share Petruchio's possible recollection of the Biblical saying that "A soft answer turneth away wrath: but grievous words stir up anger" (Proverbs xv . i).[32] Hortensio, even while he is insulting Katherine to her face, seems, as has been frequently noticed, to imitate a response in the litany of the *Book of Common Prayer,* "From all such devils good Lord deliver us!" (I . i . 66). Gremio adds his petition (line 67), and presently speaks of "the penance of her tongue" (line 90). Whether 'curst' is used in *The Shrew* (I . i . 185; I . ii . 99, 128, 129, 184; II . i . 187, 294, 308, 315; V . ii . 188) with any scriptural or ecclesiastical connotation is not apparent.

After a scene in which Katherine would seem to have had just cause for anger and tears (III . ii . 1-25), Baptista throws clearer light on the nature of her disposition,

> Go, girl. I cannot blame thee now to weep;
> For such an injury would vex a saint,
> Much more a shrew of thy impatient humour. (lines 27-29)

In contrasting a shrew of her impatient humor with a saint, Baptista seems to be using Biblical language.[33]

Later the tamed Katherine, in apparently equating her

former self with all "headstrong women" refusing obedience to their husbands, rises to a greater height of eloquence with the figure:

> What is she but a foul contending rebel
> And graceless traitor to her loving lord? (V . ii . 159-160).

Such language seems reminiscent of the angels who contended with the Almighty and fell from heaven (*cf.* Luke x . 18; 2 Peter ii . 4; Jude 6 and 9).

Richard Hooker has the phrase, "foul and wicked spirit." Writing in Book I of *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* on the fallen angels, he speaks of their former virtue, their pride, their breach of duty, and their continuing "rebellion" in their dispersion in the air, on the earth, in the water, and under the earth.[34] Forgetting "their subordination unto God and their dependency on him" and admiring too much "their own sublimity and honour," they had interrupted "their adoration, love, and imitation of God." The sin of these "wicked spirits," laboring to effect the "utter destruction of the works of God," was rooted in their own "conceit." It would not have been in consequence of excessive bile.

Marlowe in *Doctor Faustus* has much to say of the fallen angels:[35]

> *Fau.* Was not that *Lucifer* an Angell once?
> *Me.* Yes, *Faustus,* and most dearely lov'd of God.
> *Fau.* How comes it then that he is prince of divels?
> *Me.* O, by aspiring pride and insolence,
> For which God threw him from the face of heaven.
> *Fau.* And what are you that live with *Lucifer?*
> *Me.* Unhappy spirits that fell with *Lucifer,*
> Conspir'd against our God with *Lucifer,*
> And are for ever damnd with *Lucifer.* (lines 300-308)

After an exhibition of what he names her "insolence" (II . i . 23), Baptista calls Katherine a "hilding of a devilish spirit" (line 26). Hortensio, carrying the marks of Katherine's violence from the lute lesson, speaks of her "most impatient devilish spirit" (line 152). Elsewhere she is called "proud-minded" (line 132).

Gremio, moreover, after having called Katherine a "fiend of hell" (I . i . 88), argues, in language recalling another

passage from *Doctor Faustus,* that she should be provided with a devil, not a husband:

> *Gre.* What's that, I pray?
> *Hor.* Marry, sir, to get a husband for her sister.
> *Gre.* A husband? a devil!
> *Hor.* I say a husband.
> *Gre.* I say a devil. Think'st thou, Hortensio, though her father be very rich, any man is so very a fool to be married to hell? (I . i . 122-129)

Faustus rejects "a wife" brought him from hell:[36]

> *Me.* How, a wife? I prithee *Faustus* talke not of a wife.
> *Fau.* Nay sweete *Mephastophilis* fetch me one, for I will have one
> *Me.* Well thou wilt have one, sit there till I come, Ile fetch thee a wife in the divels name. (*Exit.*)
> *Enter* [*Mephastophilis*] *with a divell drest like a woman, with fier workes.*
> *Me.* Tel [me] *Faustus,* how dost thou like thy wife?
> *Fau.* A plague on her for a hote whore. (lines 575-581)[37]

Both Gremio and Hortensio in *The Shrew* had declined Baptista's invitation to "court" Katherine. Gremio preferred

> To cart her rather. She's too rough for me.
> There, there, Hortensio, will you any wife? (I . i . 54-56)

Hortensio, presently threatened by the irate Katherine, prayed, "From all such devils good Lord deliver us!" (lines 63-66).

Shakspere, accordingly, seems to have used his diabolical terms after familiar patterns, but neither his language nor the associations thereby evoked properly afford any support to anyone who would argue that Katherine was suffering from a physical excess of choler or bile—a condition which could hardly have been literally attributed even by the medical men of the sixteenth century to the devils of hell.

Despite these epithets applied to Katherine, Shakspere does not intend her to be regarded literally as a devil, or as one possessed of a devil.[38] Although the lines quoted above,

> What is she but a foul contending rebel
> And graceless traitor to her loving lord?

would, if taken literally, equate Katherine with the fallen angels, such could hardly have been Shakspere's intention. To make her a devil would be to make Petruchio a god. The language of her speech is extravagant enough, but she

approaches no nearer divinity than the use of such phrases as "thy lord, thy king, thy governor," and "thy lord, thy life, thy keeper, Thy head, thy sovereign," and "Such duty as the subject owes the prince" (V . ii . 138, 146-147, 155). These terms and the context in general leave Petruchio and other "lords and husbands" as but men, and Katherine but a woman.

Katherine, moreover, is described in more moderate terms elsewhere in the play. When Gremio reports to Tranio that Petruchio, judged by his conduct at the wedding, is "a devil, a devil, a very fiend," and Tranio urges in opposition that Katherine is "a devil, a devil, the devil's dam," Gremio asserts, "Tut, she's a lamb, a dove, a fool to him!" (III . ii . 157-159). Katherine, however, is hardly a lamb, a dove (*cf.* II . i . 208), and a fool; nor, as is elsewhere intimated, is she at once a stale (I . i . 58), a rotten apple (I . i . 139), a wildcat (I . ii . 197; *cf.* II . i . 279), a soldier (II . i . 146), a wasp (II . i . 210), a falcon, haggard, or kite (IV . i . 193, 196, 198), a puppet (IV . iii . 103), and a deer (V . ii . 56).

Jesting remarks about choler and, possibly, about sexual propensities, and the use of diabolical terms to express a personal dislike of shrewishness, do not provide the key to a true understanding of Katherine's character.

(*To be concluded*)

[1]John W. Draper, "Kate the Curst," *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease,* LXXXIX (1939), 757-764.

[2]*The Plays of William Shakespeare* (London, 1803), IX, 147. Reed cites "*The Glass of Humors,* no date, p. 60."

[3]*The Plays of William Shakespeare,* edited and annotated by Charles and Mary Cowden Clarke (Cassell, Petter & Galpin, London, n.d., 3 vols.), usually referred to as *Cassell's Illustrated Shakespeare.*

[4]*The Taming of the Shrew,* W. J. Rolfe (New York, 1881).

[5]*The Complete Works of Shakespeare,* G. L. Kittredge (Boston, 1936).

[6]*Galen On the Natural Faculties,* tr. A. J. Brock (London, 1916), pp. 191, 211.

[7]For Aristotle's distinction "between three types of choler," see Draper, *op cit.,* p.759.

[8]*The Taming of a Shrew,* F. S. Boas (London, 1918).

[9]See "The Evolution of *The Taming of the Shrew,*" *PMLA,* LVII (1942), 1009-1038, for a comparative study of *The Shrew* and *A Shrew,* and a suggested reconstruction of the original form of the play. Although it must be recognized that *A Shrew* and *The Shrew* had a common source, yet the fact that *The Shrew* is a rewriting of an earlier form of the play largely similar in content to *A Shrew* makes it practicable, with some reservation, to use *A Shrew* as if it were the actual source of *The Shrew.*

[10]Rolfe, pp. 157, 160.

[11]Reed, p. 147.

[12]Clarke, I, 508.

[13]Ariosto had referred to the danger of over-roasting or burning mutton (Gascoygne's *Supposes,* V . iv . 9-20).

[14]Ferando in *A Shrew,* III . i . 30, gives a similar excuse for depriving Kate of supper, *i.e.,* that the meat is "burnt and scorched." Ferando says nothing of choler, but, on the following Thursday, his jesting servant Sander tells Kate that "the mustard is too choleric for her" (III . iii . 13).

[15]For the chronology of the play, see "The Evolution of *The Taming of the Shrew,*" *op. cit.,* pp. 1021-1023, 1024-1028.

[16]Gascoygne has the expression, "like to die for hunger" (*Supposes,* II . iv . 137).

[17]Shakspere makes a similar "jest" about "dry" meat in *The Comedy of Errors,* II . ii . 60-64.

[18]Clarke would seem to deny that "tasteless neat's foot and insipid tripe are 'choleric' " (*op. cit.,* p. 513.)

[19]In *A Shrew,* Ind . ii . 40, Sly is also said to have been subject to "frantic fits."

[20]Mr. Draper errs in crediting Sly with a "supposed fifteen years of 'melancholy' " (*op. cit.,* p. 762)—rather than fifteen years of lunacy.

[21]*Ibid.,* p. 761.

[22]See "The Evolution of *The Taming of the Shrew,*" *op. cit.,* pp. 1022-1023.

[23]Katherine may have fasted on Sunday morning before going to church to be married.

[24]Draper, *op. cit.,* p. 761.

[25]In *A Shrew,* III . i . 5, Tom remarks to Sander, "they say she's a plaguey shrew." See note 37 below.

[26]Cf. Draper, *op. cit.,* pp. 757-759.

[27]Edinburgh, 1602 (written ca. 1552). See *The Works of Sir David Lindsay,* Douglas Hamer (Edinburgh, 1931), Vol. II, pp. 139-149, lines 1280-1387. There is a certain resemblance between the relationship of the reformed Katherine to the "froward" wives of Hortensio and Lucentio in the last scene of *The Shrew* and the relationship of personified Chastitie to the shrewish wives of the Taylour and the Sowtar in Lyndsay's play. Other parallels suggest the theory that *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis* may have been used in the making of *The Shrew.*

[28]Quoted from the text published in *The Old Taming of a Shrew* (London, 1844), pp. 60, 62. Cf. *The Shrew,* II, . i . 153.

[29]*Ibid.,* pp. 57, 58.

[30]*Ibid.,* p. 58. In *The Shrew* occur the expressions: "charm him first to keep his tongue" (I . i . 214) and "charm her chattering tongue" (IV . ii . 58).

[31]*Ibid.,* pp. 74, 75, 78. Similar language appears in *A Shrew*: "as . . . to the devil himself" (I . i . 51)! "this devilish scold" (I . i. 68); "The devil himself dares scarce venture to woo her" (I . i . 115); "The devil shall teach her first" (II . i . 37); "Thy mistress is such a devil" (II . ii . 22).

[32]Quoted from a late edition of the King James version of 1611.

[33]The folio reads "a very saint."

[34]London, 1593 (?). Cf. *Hooker's Works* (Oxford, 1888), I, 214-215 (I . iv . 3). This parallelism between disobedient wives and fallen angels suggests an indebtedness to the *Ecclesiastical Polity.* Others, *e.g.* C. M. Gayley (*Shakespeare and the Founders of Liberty in America,* New York, 1917), have argued for Shakespeare's use of Hooker. Cf. Hardin Craig, *The Enchanted Glass* (New York, 1936), p. 26.

[35]*The Works of Christopher Marlowe,* C. F. Tucker Brooke (Oxford, 1910, 1929), p. 155.

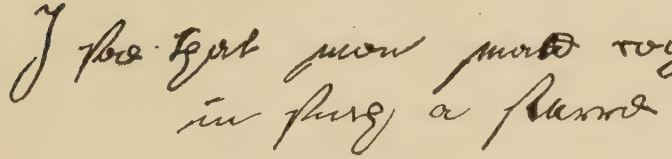
[36]*Ibid.,* p. 164 (text of 1604). Variations in the text of 1616 include: *"He fetches in a woman devill"* and "Here's a hot whore indeed; no, I'le no wife."

[37]Faustus' "A plague on her for a hote whore," together with the mention of "fier workes" in the 1604 text of Marlowe's play, may have found an echo in Curtis' "Is she so hot a shrew as she's reported." See text served by note 25 above.

[38]The Lord in the Induction (ii . 17) pretends to lament that Sly is "infused with so foul a spirit." Had Shakspere chosen to regard his heroine as actually possessed of a devil, he might, in taming her, have used the Biblical formula, "Howbeit this kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting" (Matt. xvii . 21).

REMOVING A SCAR FROM *ALL'S WELL*

By SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM



Just as the maid called Diana seems to yield to Bertram's unholy suit, she says, according to the First Folio:

> I see that men make rope's in such a scarre,
> That wee'l forsake our selues. (IV, ii, 38-39)

It is not doubted by any reader of the play that Diana means to say that women may be dissuaded from a course of virtue by the ardent solicitations of a male wooer; but why the rope (or ropes) and a scar? The editors and commentators of Shakspere, too, have been puzzled, and they have turned to the other Folios—in vain—for assistance, even though one of these omits the apostrophe in 'rope's'. A few, very few, critics have retained or defended the original text and have attempted to interpret the passage as it stands, only changing 'scarre' to 'scar.' Some editors retain even the 'scarre' as a hint to the reader that there is some obscurity in the passage. The vast majority of scholars admit that emendation is necessary but do not think that scholarship will ever succeed in recovering and establishing Shakspere's intention. Notwithstanding this scepticism, we think that the passage is not hopeless.

The various attempts to alter or emend Diana's words so that they will make sense fitting the situation may be listed as follows, with some hints as to the interpretations:

N. Rowe (1709): Make hopes in such affairs
E. Malone (1780): Make hopes in such a scene
A. Becket (1815): Make mopes in such a scar
Make japes of such a scathe
Z. Jackson (1819): Make ropes on such a scarr
C. Knight (*c* 1843): Make hopes in such a scarre [= cliff]
J. P. Collier (*c* 1850): Make slopes in such a scarre
Make ropes in such a staire
(1853): Make hopes in such a suit

A. Dyce (1853): Make hopes in such a case
S. W. Singer (1853): Make hopes in such a scare [=cause of alarm]
Make hopes in such a war
H. Staunton (*c* 1858?): Make hopes in such a snare
W. N. Lettson (1860): Make ropes in such a scape
Bubier: Make ropes in such a snare
J. Addis (1866): May drop's in such a scarre [= precipice]
S. Bailey (1866): Place hopes in such a swearing.
T. Keightley (1867): Make ropes of oaths and vows to scale our fort in hope
R. M. Spence (1877): Make promise—such as care
J. Bulloch (1878): May crop's in such a scar
J. G. Herr (1879): Make oaths, in such a siege
Make loves in such a service
F. G. Fleay: Make rapes in such a scare
B. G. Kinnear (1883): Have hopes, in such a cause,
P. Perring (1885): Make ropes in such a stair
K. Deighton (*c* 1888?): May rope's in such a snarle
J. G. B. (1884): Make vowes in such a scape [= transgression]
P. A. Daniel (1889): May rope's, in such a scare
W. W. Lloyd (1889): May hope, on such a score
(1891): Make hopes for such a lure
T. Tyler (1889): Make ropes in such a scaine [= skein of protestations]
J. G. Orger (1890): Lay traps, and set such snares
G. Joicey (1892): Make hopes of such a price
Make hopes in such a parle
A. E. Thiselton (1900): May rape's in such a scare
Make rapels [lures] in such a scare
W. E. Henley (*c* 1904?): Make hopes in such a scare [= cliff]
H. Cuningham (1914): Make cope's in such a case
May broke's in such a cause
W. H. Pinchbeck (1914): Make roups [outcries] in such a scare
J. D. Wilson (1929): Make rapes in such a scour [sudden onset]
C. F. T. Brooke (1943): May grope's [beguile us] in such a scarre [= a partly submerged rock]

In all probability, the above list does not catalogue all past attempts to emend a passage which has been labeled a 'hopeless crux' but it certainly includes all that are worthy of even the slightest claim to serious consideration. With the exception of substituting 'hopes' for 'rope's,' very few of these have been adopted in editions of the play. The original text, notwithstanding its acknowledged obscurity, has been retained and interpreted by several editors and commentators. All who have done so have resorted to such fantastical tricks and have discovered such far-fetched metaphors in the

words that common-sense readers and scholars will have nothing to do with them.

Those who know the play and are acquainted with printing house practices and the peculiarities of Elizabethan secretary script will, I am reasonably certain, approve of the emendation which I am publishing herewith. We must remember that the amorous Bertram is pleading for the privilege of copulation with a virgin who has promised his rejected wife an opportunity to spend a night with him in her stead, herself most chastely absent. Diana must pretend to yield to his unholy wooing, but she must do this with great reluctance and only after vehement suit, so that she may be in a better position to demand the precious ring of him. Having brought him to a pitch of excitement which knows no bounds, she pretends not only that he has overcome her holy scruples but that her own passions have been stirred to the yielding point. She expresses this in the words, 'I see that men may cope's in such a stir that we'll foresake ourselves'. She accompanies these words, we may rest assured, with 'business' importing surrender; she lets him kiss her or embrace her. Then, pretending to notice his ring, she coquettishly asks him to give it to her. His first reaction is refusal; thereupon she pretends to withdraw her consent and, of course, succeeds in her trick.

'Scarre' is a misreading of Shakspere's 'sturre'. All who are acquainted with the secretary script know that *c* for *t* and *t* for *c* are the most easy and among the most common blunders in the reading of Elizabethan manuscripts. This is equally true of the confusion between *u* and *a*. That is why we have 'scale't' for 'stale't' (*Coriolanus,* I, i, 97), 'cesterned' for 'testern'd' (*Two Gentlemen,* I, i, 155), 'Ace' for 'Ate' (*King John,* II, i, 63), 'Place' for 'Plate' (*King Lear,* IV, vi, 169), 'scorn' for 'storm' (*Troilus and Cressida,* I, i, 37), 'stallion' for 'scullion' (*Hamlet,* II, ii, 615), 'raine' for 'ruine' (*Hamlet,* III, iii, 22), etc. That Shakspere sometimes wrote 'sturre' for 'stir' is sufficiently proved by the occurrence of the former spelling in the 1604 Quarto of *Hamlet* (in I, i, 161 and in I, v, 34). *The Oxford Dictionary* shows that 'sturre' was current throughout the 16th century.

An error in the reading of Elizabethan manuscripts which occurs occasionally is the mistaking of a *c* for an *r* (see the lower case *c*'s depicted on page 34 of my book, *The Handwriting of the Renaissance*). That Shakspere's manuscripts contained *c*'s resembling *r*'s is shown by such errors as 'back' for 'bark' (*Comedy of Errors,* I, i, 116), 'abdication' for 'alteration' (*King Lear,* V, i, 3), 'ran' for 'can' (*Hamlet,* IV, vii, 85 in the Folio), 'court' for 'coact' (*Troilus and Cressida,* V, ii, 118—note also the *u* for *a*), 'art' for 'act' (*Othello,* III, iii, 328, in the first Quarto), 'peere' for 'piece' (*Henry VIII,* V, ii, 8), 'inraged' for 'incaged' (*Richard II,* II, i, 102).

The mistake of 'may' for 'make' may be explained on the theory that Shakspere wrote 'maie' in such a way that *ie* looked like a poorly made *k*. From Shakspere's signatures we may infer that he sometimes made his *k's* very imperfectly. It is also possible that the compositor, puzzled by the words 'maie cope's,' set up 'make rope's', thinking that that made sense. Or he may accidently, as a result of a 'foul case,' have picked up a *k* instead of an *i*. Rowe, unable to make sense of 'make rope's' changed it to 'make hopes', even though that is contrary to English idiom and does not fit the psychological requirements of the passage.

The wily Diana's use of the word 'cope' requires explanation. Shakspere used the word in various senses, with and without the preposition 'with' (see the *Oxford Dictionary* or John Foster's *A Shakespeare Word-Book*). Here Diana uses it in the sense of to 'assail'; what she says is, 'I see that men may assail us [women], when we are in such a state of emotional disturbance (as I am now), so forcefully (or so cunningly), that we abandon our principles and yield to their solicitations.' An alternative interpretation of Diana's words might be this: 'I see that a man may drive a woman into such a state of sexual excitement that she has to submit to him.' The word 'cope' has been subtly chosen by Diana Shakspere to imply yielding after a struggle.

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SORROW AND LOVE ON THE ELIZABETHAN STAGE

By LAWRENCE BABB

ALFRED HARBAGE has convincingly argued the case for "formal" as opposed to "natural" acting on the Elizabethan stage.[1] There remains the task of determining how the specific emotions were conventionally represented. Although the evidence is meager, the task seems worth attempting. In this paper I shall point out some stage conventions associated with grief and love. What I have to say pertains to the appearance and deportment of the actor rather than to his delivery.

I.

In *A Looking Glass for London and England,* the King of Paphlagonia, who has suffered a great calamity and a great wrong, enters *"Male-content."*[2] Since this word occurs in a stage direction, it is evidently intended to specify the appearance and demeanor of the actor. A review of the superficial traits of the melancholy malcontent,[3] a familiar social type in Elizabethan London, will make the dramatist's intention clearer.

The melancholy malcontent is a man who has been disheartened and embittered by the world's failure to appreciate and reward the abilities which he believes he has. Elizabethan and early Stuart satires depict his dress and manner rather clearly. Sir John Harington's Ajax becomes "a perfect malcontent; *viz.,* his hat without a band, his hose without garters, his waist without a girdle, his boots without spurs . . ."[4] John Earle's "discontented Man" affects "a studied carelesnesse with his armes a crosse, and a neglected hanging of his head and cloake, and he is as great an enemie to an hatband as Fortune."[5] The malcontent hero of Samuel Rowlands' *The Melancholie Knight* soliloquizes:

> I crosse mine armes at crosses that arise,
> And scoffe blinde *Fortune,* with hat ore mine eyes.[6]

On the title page appears a picture of the knight standing

gloomily with arms crossed and hat pulled low. The malcontent's facial expression is morosely stolid; he sits "blockish, neuer laughing, neuer speaking, but so Bearishlie, as if he would deuour all the companie."[7]

The melancholy malcontent, then, is distinguished by the neglected disorder of his clothing (especially by the lack of garters and hatband), by his folded arms and hat pulled low, by a morose and stony expression. Like most melancholy men, of course, he is deeply despondent. In *A Looking Glass* the dramatists evidently utilize the superficial traits of the London playgoer as a ready means of indicating profound depression. When Paphlagonia enters "Malecontent,"[8] he suggests his distress of spirit by such details of appearance and manner as those mentioned.

There are other indications in the drama that the attributes of the malcontent are used as symbols of woe. The hero of Greene's *Alphonsus, King of Aragon,* after hearing the unhappy story of his family, hangs his "head as malcontent."[9] Titus Andronicus asks his brother Marcus to

> unknit that sorrow-wreathen knot:
> Thy niece and I, poor creatures, want our hands,
> And cannot passionate our ten-fold grief
> With folded arms.[10]

In *Lust's Dominion* Eleazar the Moor stands "with crost arms . . . malecontent."[11] According to a stage direction, the "Tyrant" of *The Second Maiden's Tragedy,* just after the suicide of the woman whom he loves, enters *"wondrous discont[ent]edly."*[12]

The adjective *melancholy* sometimes occurs in a stage direction at the entrance of a grief-stricken character. It can hardly be meant to refer to anything besides the actor's appearance and deportment, and its implications are probably similar to those of *malcontent.* There are two instances in Lodge's *The Wounds of Civil War.* Marius, after the city of Minturnum has refused him sanctuary, enters *"very melancholie."*[13] Young Marius, his son, making the last defense of a lost cause, walks upon the walls of

Præneste *"all in blacke and wonderfull mellancoly."*[14] In Webster's *The Devil's Law-Case,* Romelio, in the midst of calamity, enters *"very melancholly."*[15] A clown in Webster's *Appius and Virginia* enters *"melancholy."*[16]

The folded arms and melancholy hat probably appeared frequently on the Elizabethan stage, much more frequently than the slender evidence can indicate. In the second scene of *Hamlet,* for example, the actor in the title rôle may have advertised his state of mind, not only by his "inky cloak," but by crossed arms, hat pulled down and eyes morosely fixed.

II.

Elizabethan and early Stuart Englishmen regard the lover, like the malcontent, as a melancholic type. For until love is consummated, its chief concomitant is sorrow, and sorrow engenders melancholy. Grieving lovers are sometimes called malcontents,[17] and *discontent* and *discontented* are often used to denote their state of mind.[18] Indeed, the superficial attributes of the lover are those of the malcontent.

It is "the humour" of all lovers, says Burton, "to be careless of their persons . . . their beards flag."[19] The Overbury characters include "An Amorist," who illustrates the conventional appearance of the lover: "His armes are carelessly used, as if their best use was nothing but embracements. He is untrust, unbutton'd and ungartered."[20] In a passage dealing with amorous intrigue, John Davies of Hereford says that he has often seen "A well-made *Male,* as male-content to stand."[21] Sir William Cornwallis scoffs at the lover's "crossed arms, and the Hat pulled down."[22] On the title page of Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* is a picture of an *"Inamorato,"* who, like Rowlands' Melancholy Knight, stands with arms crossed and hat over eyes.

These features of dress and behavior are put to dramatic use. At the opening of Greene's *Friar Bacon and Friar*

Bungay, Prince Edward enters *"malcontented"* and stands apart from his companions in "a melancholie dumpe," "all amort . . . malecontent.[23] One soon learns that his trouble is love. In Chapman's *An Humorous Day's Mirth,* the gull Labesha, because of disappointment in love, grows "marvellous malcontent . . . see where he comes."[24] In Marston's *What You Will,* Jacomo, in love, enters "unbraced and careles drest."[25] A gentleman in Field's *Amends for Ladies* complains that his sweetheart will not take his love seriously

> 'cause I do not weep,
> Lay mine arms o'er my heart, and wear no garters,
> Walk with mine eyes in my hat, sigh and make faces.[26]

Field's audience, like this lady, would expect a character in love to exhibit some of these symptoms.

The adjective *melancholy* sometimes occurs in stage directions at the entry of a lover. Orleans, in Dekker's *Old Fortunatus,* enters *"melancholike"* for love of Agripyne.[27] Wendoll, in Heywood's *A Woman Killed with Kindness,* likewise enters *"melancholy"*[28] and soliloquizes on his love for his benefactor's wife. Since there is no other hint of melancholia about Wendoll, his melancholic entry is apparently merely a conventional indication of the deep distress which he is suffering. Sir Abraham Ninny, a comic character in Field's *A Woman Is a Weathercock,* falls in love and enters *"melancholy."*[29] Webster's Appius, in love with Virginia, enters *"melancholly."*[30]

There is evidence that Elizabethan actors employed conventional devices to represent falling in love, which is frequently a very precipitant occurrence in the old drama.

In Elizabethan novels a young man who sees the lady of his fate for the first time is commonly smitten dumb and for some moments gazes at her wide-eyed (and wide-mouthed?) in statuesque stupor. For example, when Arsadachus of Lodge's *A Margarite of America* saw the lovely Diana, "he grew so sodainely altered, that as such as beheld the head of *Medus* were altred from their shapes, so he that

saw the heauen of these beauties, was rauished from his sences."[31] Lovers of the stage are apparently affected similarly.

In *Love's Labor's Lost* the King of Navarre falls in love at first sight with the Princess of France: "all his senses [are] lock'd in his eye"; his face is covered with "amazes . . . his eyes enchanted with gazes."[32] In *As You Like It* Orlando, overcome by the charms of Rosalind, stands in her presence like "a quintain, a mere lifeless block,"[33] and is unable to utter a word. In *The Mad Lover Memnon,* an elderly general, falls in love at first sight with Calis. He stands gazing fixedly at her ("how he looks"), then *"kneels amaz'd, and forgets to speak."*[34] Later Siphax, another warrior, sees the same lady for the first time. He exclaims, "Keep me ye blest Angels, / What killing power is this?" and immediately becomes stupidly tongue-tied. "Sure these Souldiers," says Calis, "Are all grown senseless . . . Are all grown senseless . . . Are all dumb Saints."[35]

In Marston's *The Insatiate Countess* there appears this stage direction: *"Isabella* fals in love . . ."[36] The foregoing should suggest what the dramatist meant to convey to the actor.

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[1]"Elizabethan Acting," *PMLA,* LIV (1939), 685-708.

[2]*The Plays and Poems of Robert Greene,* ed. Collins (Oxford, 1905), I, 169.

[3]See especially E. E. Stoll, "Shakespere, Marston, and the Malcontent Type," *MP,* III (1906), 280-303; Zera S. Fink, "Jaques and the Malcontent Traveler," *PQ,* XIV (1935), 237-52.

In Elizabethan English *malcontent* does not always refer to this social type (see *NED*). A dramatist, however, would hardly use the word in any other sense in a stage direction, for in no other sense would it tell the actor anything definite about how he was to look or behave. Both of the co-authors of *A Looking Glass* use the word in independent works. In *The Repentance of Robert Greene,* it clearly refers to the character under consideration: "I ruffeled out my silks, in the habit of *Malcontent,* and seemed [very] discontented . . ." (ed. Harrison [London, 1923], p. 20). In Lodge's *Wits Miserie* the term probably but not certainly refers to the melancholic type (*Works,* Hunterian edition [1883], vol. IV; pp. 23, 73).

[4]*The Metamorphosis of Ajax,* ed. Whittingham (Chiswick, 1814), pp. 1-2.

[5]*Micro-Cosmographie,* ed. Arber (Westminster, 1895), p. 27.

[6]P. 7 (in *Works,* Hunterian edition [Glasgow, 1880], vol. II).

[7]R. R., *Questions, Concerning Conie-hood, and the Nature of the Conie* (London, 1595), sig. B3r.

[8]Paphlagonia is clearly not a malcontent in the sense of being a person who broods over his neglected excellences. It is a fair assumption, however, that he is a melancholy man. According to Renaissance medical theory, a great sorrow is very likely to engender melancholy (see especially Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. Shilleto [London, 1926-27], I, 298-300, 313-14). Paphlagonia is angry as well as sorrowful, and anger likewise causes melancholy (*ibid.*, I, 311-12).

[9]*Plays*, I, 82. *Cf. The Troublesome Reign of King John, Shakespeare's Library*, ed. Hazlitt (London, 1875), V. 260.

[10]III, ii, 4-7. I am using W. J. Craig's Oxford Shakespeare. *Cf. The Rape of Lucrece*, lines 793, 1662; Spenser, *The Visions of Bellay*, X, 2.

[11]Ed. Brereton (Louvain, 1931), p. 19. Eleazar, like Paphlagonia, feels sullen resentment as well as sorrow.

[12]P. 52 (Malone Society Reprint). *Discontented* is often used in connection with the malcontent. John Earle, for example, calls his malcontent "A discontented Man" (see above). See also the quotation from Greene in footnote 3.

[13]P. 20 (in *Works*, vol. III).

[14]P. 62. The fact that he is in armor precludes some of the characteristic details.

[15]*Works*, ed. Lucas (London, 1927), II, 312.

[16]*Ibid.*, III, 197.

[17]See *Love's Labor's Lost*, III, i, 193; Dekker, *A Knight's Conjuring*, ed. Rimbault (London, 1842), p. 73.

[18]See, for instance, Lodge's *Rosalind* (*Works*, vol. I), pp. 69, 104, 119, 120, 129, 130.

[9]*Anatomy*, III, 174.

[20]Overbury, *Works*, ed. Rimbault (London, 1856), p. 58.

[21]*Microcosmos* (*Works*, ed. Grosart [Edinburgh, 1878], vol. I), p. 66.

[22]*Essayes* (London, 1632), "Of Loue," no. 5.

[23]*Plays*, II, 17.

[24]*Comedies*, ed. Parrott (London, 1914), p. 85. Labesha swears that he will live forlornly "in silen[ce] . . . Mad, and melancholy . . . And never more wear hatband on my hat" (pp. 82-83)

[25]*Plays*, ed. Wood Edinburgh, 1934-39), II, 237.

[26]*Old English Plays*, ed. Dodsley-Hazlitt (London, 1874-76), XI, 96. There are many other references in the drama to the lover's disordered dress and dejected attitudes. See, for example, *Love's Labor's Lost*, III, i, 18-21, 191; IV, iii, 135; *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, II, i, 20-21, 81, 84-86; *As You Like It*, III, ii, 400-06; *Hamlet*, II, i, 77-102. Folded arms are mentioned especially often. The "cross arms" are, in fact, "the lover's sign" (Middleton, *The Spanish Gipsy*, *Works*, ed. Bullen [London, 1885-86], VI, 186).

[27]*Works* (London, 1873), I, 126.

[23]*Works* (London, 1874), II, 108.

[29]*Old English Plays*, ed. Dodsley-Hazlitt, XI, 34.

[30]*Works*, III, 160.

[31]P. 64 (in *Works*, vol. III). *Cf.* Lodge, *Rosalind*, p. 23 (*Works*, vol. I); Greene, *Menaphon*, ed. Harrison (Oxford, 1927(, pp. 33-34; Sidney, *Arcadia*, *Works*, ed. Feuillerat (Cambridge, 1922-26), I, 90.

[32]II, i, 240-45.

[33]I, ii, 268. Phebe seems to be struck speechless upon seeing "Ganymede" for the first time (III, v, 5-63).

[34]*The Works of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher*, ed. Glover-Waller (Cambridge, 1905-12), III, 4-5. *Cf.* Heywood, *A Woman Killed with Kindness*, *Works*, II, 116.

[35]Pp. 29-30.

[36]*Plays*, III, 22.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

S. A. T.

JOHN DONNE & BIBLIOGRAPHY

F. W. Faxon Company of Boston have rendered a useful service to Elizabethan scholarship in publishing in pamphlet form Mr. William White's *John Donne since 1900: A Bibliography of Periodical Articles* which originally appeared in several issues of the *Bulletin of Bibliography* (September-December, 1937). The booklet consists of 16 leaves, of which the versos are blank, lists 'more than 500 items,' is provided with a one-page preface in which Mr. White points out a growing interest in Donne's neurotic work and personality, and sells for 75 cents.

Mr. White has done a fairly thorough job in compiling a list of Donne material accumulating in the hundreds of magazines devoted to literature and literary criticism and has given accurate references. Those who have engaged in this kind of compilation know that no bibliography of such a subject can ever be complete, even if one had dozens of assistants working in the libraries of all civilized countries, beastly Germany included. As far as we have been able to check, Mr. White has omitted from his list the following essays of any importance: Miss A. M. Perkins's dissertation, 'The pictorial in D's sersons' (abstracted in the *University of Arizona Bulletin,* Feb. 1941), Miss M. L. Wiley's 'Scepticism in the writings of J. D. and others' (a 1940 dissertation at Radcliffe College), Miss H. W. Siebenthal's dissertation (University of Oregon, 1935) on 'Seventeenth-century letters,' Mr . R. S. Forsythe's essay (in *PMLA,* Sept. 1925) on 'The passionate shepherd and English poetry,' E. B. Maras's thesis on 'The medieval element in J. D.' (abstracted in the *University of Arizona Record,* Feb. 1939), F. O. Henderson's essay (in *ELH,* Dec. 1937), 'Traditions of *precieux* and *libertin,*' G. Williamson's 'Senecan style in the 17th century' (*PQ,* Oct. 1936), Miss Bennett's 'An aspect of the evolution of the 17th century prose' (in *RES,* July 1941), C. Whitby's 'The genius of J. D.' (*Poetry Review,* March 1923), E. Legouis's essay on J. D. in *Revue des C & C* (April and May 1911), C. R. Brown's 'J. D. and Shakespeare (in *NQ,* Dec. 11, 1926), D. Flower's 'Dr. Keynes on J. D.' (*Book Collector's Quarterly,* July 1931), A. M. Wasilifsky's thesis, 'J. D., the rhetor: a study of the tropes . . . in the St. Paul sermons, (*Abstract of Theses,* Cornell, 1935), H. C. Beeching's essay, 'Walton's life of J. D.' (*Cornhill Magazine,* 1900, 8:249-68), J. W. Chadwick's 'J. D., poet and preacher' (*New World,* 1900, 9:31-48), L. I. Guiney's 'D. as a lost Catholic poet' (*The Month,* 1920, 136:13-19). There are other omissions but we cannot list them here.

A serious defect in this bibliography (and in many others that we know of) is the omission of a name and subject index; without such an index a bibliography is of little or no value to a scholar engaged in research. The omission of such an index is a sign of either laziness or poor economy.

We have noted several errors of proofreading. On page 3 we have 'Mars,ton' for 'Marston,' on page 5 'Literature' for 'Literatur,' on page 9 'Uber' for 'Ueber' and 'Wein' for 'Wien,' and on page 19 'by' for 'be.'

A matter to which we wish scholars to give consideration is the custom—the illogical and bad custom—of print-

ing the volume number in roman letters (*e.g.* XLVIII) instead of in arabic (48) and of inserting the date between this and the page reference, thus: '*Sewanee Review,* XLVIII (October-December, 1940), 552-555.' This is an illogical breaking up of the place reference by a time reference (as is proved by the parenthesis) and is ugly from a typographic viewpoint. Then there is the further consideration that most persons find it difficult to decipher the roman numerals. The rotten privilege of custom is all that can be urged in its defence, but as Shakspere said:

> What custom wills, in all things should we do't,
> The dust on ántique time would lie unswept,
> And monstrous error be too highly heap'd
> For truth t'o'erpeer.

THE SONNETS ONCE AGAIN

The University of California, in commemoration of the 75th anniversary of its foundation, has just published a truly important work in the realms of English and French literature. It is Professor Fernand Baldensperger's *Les Sonnets de Shakespeare traduits en vers francais et accompagnes d'un commentaire continu* (pp xx + 370, $5.00). As is clear from the title we have here a French translation of the Shakspere sonnets accompanied with a running commentary. What the title does not indicate is that this new French translation—by a man who is a poet in his own right (and therefore more likely than a professional scholar to feel what Shakspere had in his mind and heart)—is faced, sonnet for sonnet, by the English text, that the voluminous notes consist mainly of parallel ideas and expressions from Shakspere's plays and from the works of English and foreign contemporaries, and perhaps—most important—that the new translator-editor has regrouped the sonnets in an attempt to have them tell a new story. What this new story is the reader will have to learn for himself; whether he will be convinced by Dr. Baldensperger's case will depend on his knowledge and his prejudices. Unfortunately our knowledge of French is too limited to dare to form an opinion as to the merits of the translation. As to the scholarship shown in the notes, we have no hesitation in saying that we have here a book vastly superior in its independence, industry and honesty than characterizes most books issuing from university and other presses both here and abroad.